766 that he might have plenty to ride on his journey to the
768 Sand Hills, and to use after arriving there. If a man had a
[775] favorite horse, he might order it to be killed at his grave, and his order was always carried out. In ancient times, it is said, dogs were killed at the grave.

● 765 Women mourn for deceased relations by cutting their hair
562 short. For the loss of a husband or son (but not a daughter), they not only cut their hair, but often take off one or more joints of their fingers, and always scarify the calves of their legs. Besides this, for a month or so, they daily repair to some place near camp, generally a hill or little rise of ground, and there cry and lament, calling the name of the deceased
[533] over and over again. This may be called a chant or song,
[152] for there is a certain tune to it. It is in a minor key and very doleful. Any one hearing it for the first time, even though wholly unacquainted with Indian customs, would at once know that it was a mourning song, or at least was the utterance of one in deep distress. There is no fixed period for the length of time one must mourn. Some keep up this daily lament for a few weeks only, and others much longer. I once came across an old wrinkled woman, who was crouched in the sage brush, crying and lamenting for some one, as if her heart would break. On inquiring if any one had lately died, I was told she was mourning for a son she had lost more than twenty years before.

Men mourn by cutting a little of their hair, going without leggings, and for the loss of a son, sometimes scarify their legs. This last, however, is never done for the loss of a wife, daughter, or any relative except a son.

551 Many Blackfeet change their names every season. When-
[553] ever a Blackfoot counts a new *coup*, he is entitled to a new name. A Blackfoot will never tell his name if he can avoid it. He believes that if he should speak his name, he would be unfortunate in all his undertakings.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

THE BLACKFEET [ca. 1850]

765 Widows donned old clothes, cut their hair short, and smeared their hair, faces, and clothes with white clay. In their anguish, mourning women scratched the calves of their legs with sharp pieces of flint, causing their blood to flow. Some widows chopped off joints of their fingers. For several weeks they made daily trips to a quiet place outside their camp and sang doleful mourning chants.

When men mourned the death of a loved one, they also put on old clothes, cut their hair, and smeared themselves with white clay. Sometimes, to appease his grief for a dead wife or child, a man took to the warpath, eager to perform a deed of reckless bravery without regard for the risk to his own life.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

from Christian missionaries. In 1890 the census estimated that "5 per cent of these Indians are Roman Catholics and the others are sun worshipers."[19] Not until three years later was a permanent Protestant mission established on the reservation. Then Rev. and Mrs. Dutcher built a Methodist church on Willow Creek near the boarding school.

Meanwhile, some of the agents charged with the difficult task of reporting the Indians' progress toward civilization were not satisfied with the results they could obtain by example and persuasion alone. They offered bribes or threatened punishments in their efforts to destroy the symbols of the Indians' savage life which were distasteful to them. Disregarding the time-honored American principle of freedom of religion, they directed their attack primarily against the Indians' tribal ceremonial, the sun dance. In 1887 Agent Baldwin ordered members of the Indian Police not to participate in or to encourage this ceremony. He exacted a pledge of each Indian who received a brood mare from the government that he would take no part in the sun dance. Consequently, there was no sun dance the following summer.[20] Major Baldwin also pointed with pride to the fact that he had required all members of the Indian Police to cut their hair and to "abstain from the objectionable habit of painting their faces."[21] Friends of the Indians prevailed upon Washington officials to remove this hostile agent.

Yet, six years later, Captain Lorenzo Cook, another strict disciplinarian, ordered two sun dance lodges used in previous years to be torn down and the timbers used for erecting branding corrals. He prohibited not only the sun dance but "Indian mourning, beating the tom-tom, gambling, and wearing Indian costumes" as well. And he tried to discourage "less pernicious practices such as horse racing." Captain Cook even asked the traders not to stock the paints Indians used for painting their faces.[22] Short

[19] *Report of Indians Taxed and Not Taxed*, U. S. Bureau of Census, 360.
[20] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888, 151-52.
[21] Mark D. Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1886, Indian Office Records.
[22] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1894, 159.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

existed. Nevertheless the available data from the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Assiniboin, Crow, Arikara, Teton Dakota, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Chiricahua Apache indicate a common substratum of beliefs and usages which strongly suggests that the horse medicine cults of these tribes were historically related. Native testimony to the effect that the Assiniboin and Crow derived their horse-medicine cults from the Blackfoot suggests that the Blackfoot were at least a secondary center of diffusion of the cult. However, native traditions also suggest that the Oglala and Cheyenne as well as the Blackfoot possessed active horse-medicine cults early in the 19th century. I have cited proof of the existence of the cult among the Arikara as early as 1803–4. It is probable that some tribes of the Great Plains possessed horse medicine cults in the 18th century, although the evidence is insufficient to enable me to name them.

The horse-medicine cult certainly appears to have been a native invention. Possibly it began to develop shortly after the acquisition of horses in response to the need for the services of veterinarians to care for these precious possessions. Their actions clothed in secrecy, blessed with supernatural sanctions, and embellished with elaborate ritual, their powers feared by their fellow tribesmen, these primitive horse doctors may have extended their activities to include the control of the actions of horses in the hunt, in war, and in horse races, and added some of the functions of the earlier cult of healers of sick humans. On the other hand, the first horse medicine men may have been persons who had previously treated humans and/or dogs, and who already possessed considerable knowledge of the medicinal plants of their tribal habitats. Through processes of trial and error they may have discovered additional medicines which proved efficacious in the treatment of horses. Although ritual and magical factors played prominent roles in the use of horse medicines, there was an empirical element in the selection of plant materials administered in the curing rituals.

SACRIFICE OF HORSES AFTER THE DEATH OF THEIR OWNERS

A Blackfoot Indian felt a strong attachment for his favorite horse, his trusted companion on the buffalo hunt and scalp raid. If this animal died it was not unusual for his proud owner to weep publicly. The owner might request his family to have his favorite horse killed beside his own burial place, if that horse survived him. Thus the close companionship between man and horse might continue in the spirit world. However, poor families, who could not afford to sacrifice a horse, more commonly cut short the mane and tail of the deceased owner's favorite mount. Green Grass Bull explained that the horse was then considered to be in mourning for its owner in much the

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

same way as was the mourning wife who cut the hair of her head. Sometimes the mane and tail of a woman's favorite pack or travois horse were cut after her death. Horses so treated could be used without any period of delay after the owner's death.

Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 121) was told of instances when "twelve or fifteen horses were killed . . . at the funeral of a celebrated chief." However, his mention of 150 horses killed following the death of "Sacomapoh" probably is an exaggeration. Weasel Tail said the greatest number of horses he had seen killed at one burial was 10. The Piegan continued the custom of killing horses as grave escorts until about the year 1895. Among the Canadian Blackfoot the custom was followed sporadically for several years after that date.

Upon the death of an important leader the sacrifice of horses was coupled with an elaborate ceremony of burial in a death lodge. Among the great chiefs honored with death-lodge burial were Lame Bull, first signer of the 1855 treaty with the United States Government (who died in 1858) and Many Horses, the wealthiest Piegan (who died in 1866). Lesser chiefs and prominent warriors received this honorary burial on a less grandiose scale.

When one of these leaders died his lodge was arranged on the inside just as it had been when he was alive, with beds and backrests in place and his favorite equipment displayed as it had been when he used to entertain prominent guests in his lodge. His body was dressed in his finest clothing and laid on a bed in the lodge, or preferably on a pole platform erected in the center of the lodge, built high enough to prevent predatory animals from molesting the body. The body was laid upon the platform with feet facing the doorway (east). Then the deceased's close relatives prepared the horses to be killed, decorating them with elaborate and costly riding gear. The dead man's favorite horse was painted with pictographs representing the owner's coups. That horse's tail was braided and tied in a ball, and a feather pendant was tied in it. His mane was braided and feathers were tied in it also.

Everyone in camp attended the funeral. The horses to be sacrificed were led to the door of the death lodge. Each horse in turn was shot with a gun, pressed against its head and fired by a relative of the deceased. After all the horses were killed the riding gear of the dead man's favorite horse sometimes was stripped off and placed inside the death lodge. At other times the people of the camp were privileged to strip the dead horses of their gear for their own use. Green Grass Bull explained the Blackfoot belief that the spirit of the horse joined that of its owner, wearing the gear it bore at the time it was killed. After the horse's spirit had departed the actual trappings had no more value to the dead Indian than did the carcass of the sacrificed horse itself.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

primitive custom of providing the dead with objects thought to be useful to them in the afterlife.

Cropping the mane and tail of a dead man's horse or horses provided a method of honoring the dead without sacrificing valuable property. Probably it was much more common among Plains and Plateau tribes than the few, scattered references in the literature indicate. The wealthy Comanche and the Chiricahua Apache cut the manes and tails of those horses of the deceased man which had not been killed at the grave (Parker, 1855, p. 685; Opler, 1940, p. 474). Sarsi clipped the hair of horses that belonged to a warrior killed in battle (Jenness, 1938, p. 39). Flathead considered their mourning period for the dead ended when the clipped mane and tail of the dead man's horse grew out (Turney-High, 1937, p. 146). Other tribes reported to have cut the manes and tails of dead men's horses were the Plains Cree (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 250), Assiniboin (Lowie, 1909, p. 42), Crow (Leonard, 1904, p. 271), Teton Dakota (Dorsey, 1894, p. 487), and Lemhi Shoshoni (Lowie, 1909, p. 215).

DISPOSAL OF HORSES AFTER THE DEATH OF OWNER

If the head of a Blackfoot family knew he was about to die he called his relatives together and told them how he wished his horses and other property divided among them, designating which items were to be received by each relative. If a man died without a verbal will procedures differed. His eldest son, or other close relative might take charge of the distribution of the property. However, a distant relative, angered at being left out of consideration, might help himself to a horse without its being reclaimed by the one to whom it was allotted.

I asked particularly about the distribution of the great herd of Many Horses, wealthiest of Blackfoot horse owners, after he and his favorite wife were murdered by the Gros Ventres in the summer of 1866. Lazy Boy said that after the battle between the Piegan and Gros Ventres, which followed shortly after the discovery of Many Horses' body, the Piegan erected a death lodge for Many Horses, and his eldest daughters selected more than 10 of his favorite horses to be killed before the burial lodge. Later Lazy Boy's father, Calf Looking, a band chief in the Piegan camp, took charge of the distribution of Many Horses' herd. Many Horses' eldest daughter instructed him to divide the horses among the three surviving wives, the several daughters, and one son of the deceased chief. After each received a sizable herd, she asked that the rest of the horses be given to the people. Every member of Many Horses' band received a horse and some persons outside the band also got one.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

demanded an explanation. The Blackfoot looked upon the horse as a godsend. In their mythology it was represented as a gift of powerful sky or water spirits. Horses were thought to possess supernatural powers. The ability of certain horses to perform feats of unusual strength or endurance was proof to the Indians that those animals possessed those powers to a very high degree. 711 231 182 [713] [718]

Some horses were believed to have appeared to their owners in dreams and conferred their powers upon them. Through such transference of powers the secret horse medicine cult was believed to have originated. The relatively few members of this cult carefully guarded their knowledge of the origin of their medicines and restricted their use by outsiders in such a way that their secrets would not be revealed. Members were feared and respected by fellow tribesmen to the extent that many aged Indians still fear to discuss the cult. There are no other Blackfoot ceremonial organizations whose secrets have been so closely guarded, with the possible exceptions of the Horn Society among the Blood and the Tobacco Planters of the North Blackfoot. The influence of horse medicine men's activities pervaded the fields of warfare, hunting, recreation, and curing, as well as the daily lives of their people. Their ritual practices were designed to heal sick and wounded horses and to cure humans, to revive exhausted horses, to assist individuals in capturing horses from the enemy or in handicapping enemy war horses, to prevent hunting horses from falling in slippery winter weather and to retard the movements of buffalo in the hunt, to handicap race horses, to capture wild horses, and to prevent horses from straying from their owner's herds. Their ceremony, the horse dance, followed the generalized Blackfoot ceremonial bundle pattern but had distinctive features. Taboos observed by horse medicine men also were distinctive. There was a close relationship between the horse medicine men and owners of medicine pipes whom the horse specialists customarily aided. These specialists also aided other Indians in the preparation of protective "horse bridles" worn under the heads of war horses on scalp raids. 794 231

Indirectly the influence of the horse affected other Blackfoot religious rituals. Horse payments were invariably made as inducements to owners of ceremonial bundles to transfer their power to prospective purchasers. At intervals throughout the tribal Sun Dance ceremony participants were required to recite their coups, most commonly acquired through raiding for horses. In the two cases of self-torture during a Sun Dance that have been recorded in detail, the suppliants are known to have vowed to undergo the torture just before entering enemy camps to take horses. 231 182 796

Finally the horse was given a role of prominence in burial and mourning rites. The favorite horses of a wealthy individual were 231 182 764 765

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

killed near his grave so that their spirits might accompany his to the afterworld and there continue to be of service. The family that could not afford to sacrifice a horse was content to cut the mane and tail of one or more horses belonging to the deceased. There is a tradition to the effect that dogs were sometimes killed at the graves of their owners before the Blackfoot acquired horses. If such was the case, the substitution of horses for dogs simply indicated Blackfoot recognition of the greater value and usefulness of horses in the afterworld as well as in this one.

THE HORSE AND THE FUR TRADE

It has not been my intention to argue the influence of the horse in Blackfoot Indian culture at the expense of minimizing the influence of the fur trade.[96] Both were powerful catalytic agents which contributed to the reshaping of Plains Indian culture in the historic period. Among the Blackfoot they were contemporary influences. Both the horse and trade goods began to reach the Blackfoot before the middle of the 18th century and remained potent influences until the end of buffalo days. However, it is not easy to isolate the influence of one as opposed to the other. The two influences complemented one another in bringing about radical changes in the tribal way of life. For example, both the horse and the fur trade encouraged Indian destruction of buffalo resources and contributed toward the extermination of the buffalo in the Blackfoot country. Use of horses made it easy for Indians to kill many more buffalo than were required for their subsistence. The fur trade, offering ready markets for excess hides and pemmican, made it profitable for them to do so.

Looking at the question historically, we must recognize that the Blackfoot played a relatively insignificant part in the fur trade prior to 1831. Both Anthony Hendry and Mathew Cocking dejectedly reported the "Archithinue" Indians' lack of interest in traveling to the British posts to trade in the third quarter of the 18th century. Known movements of the Blackfoot during the 18th century were away from the British and French posts on the lower Saskatchewan to the eastward of them, southwestward toward the tribes from whom they captured horses. After British posts were established in their country, on the Upper Saskatchewan, in the late years of that century and early years of the following one, the Blackfoot showed little interest in trapping small and valuable fur-bearing mammals for the trade. They preferred to hunt buffalo on horseback and to remain relatively independent of the traders. They traded primarily horses and pemmican at the forts.

[96] I have been a student of the fur trade among the Blackfoot for more than a decade. I am well aware of the influence of that trade on Blackfoot material culture.

The male relatives were obligated to care for the widow. Women did own property, nevertheless, and might dispose of it according to their own wishes, but should they receive horses from a dying man, a close male relative would be obliged to care for this property.

Under the violent fluctuation of economic fortunes due to enemy raids, uncontrolled livestock disease and severe winters, inheritance was usually not a very significant factor in Blackfoot social life. Though there are notorious cases where young men remained idly in camp because they had inherited sufficient horses to make the warpath unnecessary, such cases stand out by dint of their rarity. Most obligations were settled prior to death, and in mourning dissipation of the property was speedy, relatives and non-relatives alike not unwilling to be present at the distraught hand-outs of the dead man's possessions. Then the immediate kinsmen were left to mourn, stripped of property, themselves careless of what happened. Nevertheless, in distributing the property, the prior obligations to siblings as compared with own children is striking.

Throughout life reciprocal obligations between brothers was stressed. In childhood the older brother was responsible for introducing a younger brother into the boy's life of the camps. Later he took his younger brother on his first war party. As repayment for this instruction, the younger brother would give a sizable fraction of his booty to the older, and this practice would continue indefinitely after the young man had showed his capability of independent fighting. Once established as a warrior, the young man would take a still younger sibling on war parties, in order to instruct him. This practice established a chain of obligations to repay older brothers and instruct younger brothers who in their turn would repay their instructors.

Competition for honors was a potentially disintegrating force in the relations between brothers, but this system of obligations solidified fraternal relations. In this light the prior obligations to brothers over sons is to be understood: A man's son normally received aid not from his father but from his father's younger brother who would ordinarily be the son's "older brother." Thus interaction in certain spheres was greater with members of adjacent age grades than with one's parents. This was particularly true with reference to economic exchange, and these economic obligations continued through life, finally to be expressed in a man's last words on his deathbed. The main exception to this rule was with a favored child, where the father himself chose to assume the rôle normally falling to an older brother. In accordance with such sentimental ties, the favored child usually received the bulk of a man's property, in contrast to the usual emphasis on sibling solidarity which succeeded in channeling property toward siblings.

Residence after marriage also assumed no specific forms. Not only might

593 621 571 Many Mules obtained five head and drove them into the corral of Big Black Collar. On seeing them, Big Black Collar was furious and ordered Many Mules to get rid of them. Instead Many Mules moved with his mother to the camp of his mother's sister's husband who was a cattle owner.

The result of this situation for a young man was that he moved from one relative's camp to the next until he found the authority which was least arduous. However, until he became economically independent, he could not [581] maintain a wife and tipi. This may be considered another reward for marriage: when one becomes supreme authority in one's own tipi.

937 562 [577] [578] Marriage in itself was an unstable affair due to other factors. Here there exists a conflict between the male dogma that any woman was a legitimate sex object and the ideal embodied in the Sun Dance vower, that a bride be not only a virgin but as a wife remain perpetually faithful to her husband. Unmarried men were always a threat to the stability of a marriage, for few men would tolerate clandestine affairs on the part of their wives. The relative rarity of Sun Dance vowers as compared with those women who were ineligible to vow the Sun Dance because of past misconduct bespeaks the [684] frequency of these illicit affairs. As women were credited with the initiative in love, the punishment was usually directed toward them rather than the [621] co-respondent, and this punishment was often severe in the extreme. Pat- [152] terns of male suspiciousness and jealousy were rampant: Wives were beaten merely after seeing another man beat his wife; suspicious men even moved [578] from the protection of a camp to the open prairie where they were easy prey [593] to enemy raiding parties, rather than risk their wives in a camp filled with bachelors; young men suspected of complicity were attacked without warn- 593 ing by irate husbands. The reason for this conduct may be partly under- 571 stood on the basis of affronted authority. As unfaithfulness on the part of a 937 wife threatened the very existence of the domain over which a man had 684 supreme authority and might reduce him to acknowledging authority in another tipi group as an ignominious visitor who could not care for himself, marriage stability was a very personal and vested interest for a male. To protect the household the punishment was extreme, varying from mutilation in order to make her less attractive, to society rape fests that she might be given her fill of sexual experience with other men, to merely shooting her. All this was carried out in a fit of rage under the name of disillusioned love: "I loved her so much, and then she was unfaithful to me." The restorative aspects of these measures must be stressed, for since the wife was usually not sent away, the punishment was intended to make the household more [682] secure. Should the extreme have occurred, murder was always followed by [765] the customary mourning rites that approximated those following natural death. Only when the integrity of the household could be preserved in any

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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the seven whose incomes we inspected no change of property through this channel occurred.

A funeral brings with it certain distributive features. First, to prevent the bereaved from hurting themselves, many people must be present at all times in the days after the death. They must be generously fed, for generosity is important at all times. Then the grave-diggers are given something for their services. After interment all property is disposed of. The terms of the will are carried out, though they are concerned with only a part of the possessions given away. A house is literally cleaned of everything in any way valuable. People take what they wish, and the personal property of the deceased may be burned, especially at the death of a wife or husband. If a woman dies, the farm implements are kept for the widower by some close relative to prevent their being given away. If a man dies, his farm implements are either willed to a relative or, in case of no will, are given away to a kinsman. When everything is gone, the nearest relatives are expected to care for the bereaved and at the suitable interval of time give them new clothing, blankets, and food with which to start life over again.

Only one of the seven whose expenditures we investigated[1] was influenced by death; the deceased was his father's sister. Our informant took care of the old lady before her death, and others helped to buy groceries. No mention was made of property being received at death, and it is probable that she had little or none to dispose of. Only occasionally is death important as a means of distribution.

Outside the family an important system of distribution is gambling. This takes four main forms: hand game, pool or "snooky," poker, and horse racing. The hand games occur most frequently, particularly where many families congregate, as at the hay camps or the mine village. It is difficult to estimate how much changes hands through the course of an evening; we have heard of individuals winning $30 in an all-night session. More often the gain or loss is $2 to $5.

Pool or "snooky," played by young men in the village pool hall, draws bets of 10 to 50 cents from the participants. Spectators may also enter the game via side bets, or novices may be lured into betting high stakes by a display of ineptness on the part of an expert who later will play in his true form to snare the sucker.

[1] Cf. Appendix B.

[See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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remain the honoured and respected heads of extended families whose lives are not chaotic. The residuals of a broken household rejoin their more stable relatives, while the new household, if not already provided with a residence, joins another group of relatives.

Death furnishes a final point where social disorganization may occur. It is faced today by some with terror, by others with equanimity. This seems to depend upon whether the dying person is mainly Christian or Blackfoot in outlook. Christians, uncertain of the future and concerned with the process of moral retribution, contrast with the Blackfoot who have no idea of atonement, for the mythical Sand Hills are considered a haven where good and bad alike are welcomed by their deceased kinsmen.

As death approaches, relatives gather around the dying person to bid him farewell. The immediate kin usually remain until the end, while others come and go. All are expected to help defray the cost of a funeral. Sometimes in the last hours a priest will be summoned to baptize a person of Indian faith, just as a kind of insurance.

After the last breath the formalities of mourning begin. In former times the nearest kin would don old clothes, cut their hair, and gash themselves with a knife. Old clothes and dishevelled appearance still obtain, and a mourner is vigilantly guarded by kinsmen to prevent serious self-injury. In the meanwhile others are dispatched to get the coffin, arrange for the burial service, and dig the grave. The corpse is attired in best raiment.

Funerals follow a simplified white pattern suffused with Indian custom. Rather than leave the coffin in the open or under a tipi, burial has been adopted to forestall grave robbers. There are no white prayers at the grave, but as the coffin is lowered, an intense wailing begins by all spectators. Kinsmen who heap the earth on top of the coffin receive special gifts. Once, a few years ago, however, a man received special supernatural powers in a dream to handle corpses and bury them, and he took no payment for his services.

The subsequent mourning follows the Blackfoot pattern. If the deceased is a key member of a household, especially a spouse, all unwilled possessions to the last packet of cigarettes are given away because the sight of these articles could only increase the pain of separation by reminding one constantly of the deceased. If a sibling, a child, or aged person dies, the mourning is not so intense, and the useful household effects remain in the hands of the mourners. In any case some kind of give-away with many people present is

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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765 prescribed in order to help the survivors forget. The mourners do not
768 participate in the activity but say, "It makes us feel good to give
these things away. It is the last time that we lose things on him
765 [the deceased]." At the conclusion of this give-away, a period of
mourning follows, varying from four days for an infant or distant relative to four years for a cherished spouse. During this time the mourner may wail alone on the hills or sit vacantly in the house of a watchful kinsman who encourages him to forget his loneliness and to "live for his children." Throughout prolonged mournings the intensity gradually diminishes, although all say that intense moments of grief occur until the last anniversary of mourning when suddenly life becomes again tolerable. Above all, the bereaved absents himself from associations that remind him of the dead person. In one typical instance the parents, after the death of a child, remained four months away from their house, camping in a tent, in order to avoid this association. Only after the four months could they return and take up living there again. For this reason, years after a death many feel hesitant to enter the hospital. However long mourning may be, at its completion relatives must assist the mourner to start life again by giving new clothing and equipment for the household.

596 In theory, when the key person in an extended family dies, the
768 next eldest kinsman assumes leadership. In practice, allegiance to the successor may not be sufficient to maintain the solidarity of the group. We have seen how in the old days after the death of a band chief, many of the followers moved to other bands. Today with even less coherence complete redistribution of households is apt to follow. However, a successor with wealth and generosity has certain factors working in favour of continuation of the extended family. Though household furnishings and sacred bundles may be scattered, wills help maintain intact essential farm tools and live-stock, house, and barns. Thus when Hind Bull died, his son-in-law had already stepped into the leading role. Sufficient property remained together after the death of Three Suns that an energetic kinsman could carry on. There is Blackfoot precedent for this, and the agency has discouraged abandonment and destruction of all property in a household. Indeed, relatives have been known to hide the farm equipment of a mourner to prevent his giving it away "until he has sobered up from the mourning." This would certainly have been impossible before 1900.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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291
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765

A Blackfoot woman and her daughter in the early reservation years. The old styles of clothing were still being worn every day, but they were usually made with lighter and more convenient trade goods like cloth. These two are apparently in mourning for a close relative. The older woman has hacked off her hair and wears wrinkled clothing, while the daughter wears her hair unbraided—both signs of mourning. Commonly the women would also gash their arms and legs with knives, or cut off one of their fingers, if they really loved the one who had died. (PHOTO: GOOD MEDICINE FOUNDATION)

[p. 175]

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

it extra clean, pleasant-smelling, or rid of lice and dandruff, neither of which was common. In the wintertime women cleaned themselves occasionally with a sweatbath.

While Blackfoot men had a number of traditional hairstyles to choose from, the women used mainly one: they parted their hair down the middle and braided the two sides, tying the ends with strips of buckskin or plain cloth. Wrapping the ends of the braids with red cloth is a symbolic men's style, although some young women have naïvely taken up this style in recent years. While doing work, many women tied the ends of their braids together and threw them behind, out of the way. Younger women wore their hair down, and loose, only while mourning the death of a loved one. Old women often mourned so regularly over losses among children, grandchildren, and other relatives that they wore their hair loose all the time, usually cropped to a length just below the shoulders.

If you have ever worn a hide dress for several days and nights, especially during summer, you will readily see why my grandmothers eagerly obtained cloth from the traders, even at fairly high cost. The first cloth was heavy wool, which could not have been a tremendous improvement in comfort and coolness, though it could be easily washed. But when the lighter cotton calico materials became available, women's dressing was revolutionized. In summer they were finally able to dress and work in comfort. Even so, most women kept their shawls on all the time, winter or summer. They usually put them on to cover their whole bodies, then fastened a belt around the waist so that the shawl would remain hanging from the waist down, folded in half. If they were not working, the women usually folded their shawls in half, from point to point, and wore them over their shoulders so that one point was farthest down the back. Some of my grandmothers still dress this way today when they go into town. Most of the rest wear at least a heavy sweater, more commonly a coat, even in the

had undergone the self-torture ceremony. With some variations in the details, their stories are still told whenever our Old People get together to talk about the past. The mentioned mix-up with the Mounted Police will be more fully described later in a story about old Calf Robe, who was the object of the mix-up.

THE 1908 OKAN, SPONSORED BY HEAVY SHIELD

We are fortunate to have Wilson's written account of the 1892 Okan. Without it, many of the details of the ceremony would have been lost to us. Nevertheless, many details were not recorded and are lost because he did not understand all that went on around him. He was given no Teachings about Medicine Lodge ceremonies. Among the Old People who were given such Teachings is George First Rider, the son of a priest and doctor. Here is his story of another, later Sun Dance, as he told it recently.

My grandmother, Catching Amongst, was going to sponsor a Holy Lodge in the year 1908, but she didn't. Something happened in the family of the people that were going to transfer the Natoas Bundle to her. [Probably a death; a mourning family cannot take part in holy ceremonies.]

If there is no one to sponsor a Holy Lodge, then the Horns Society will look for someone.

The Horns Society took one of the tongues [from the cows that were butchered on ration day], and the ceremonial leader painted it black. The Horns Society sang, "The black paint I take. . . . It is holy."

The seven high-ranking members went out in a procession bearing the painted tongue. They all wore holy moccasins, breechcloths, and robes. The procession led to the east entrance of the camp circle. They walked slowly. When they got to the south side, they stopped and prayed. They stopped and prayed several times as they pro-

[p.44-B]

six-strip canvas tent (many of our People still lived year-around in tents and tipis back then), a plow, and enough food to get him started. [793] [778] [657]

By the time Wings vowed to take our sacred Pipe, his farm was operating well, and he had already paid off the agent's loan. But after he made his payments for the Bundle, he didn't have enough horses left to haul a wagon. Besides, the wagon itself had been included as part of the payment. For him, the sacrifice had been considerable. [426] [342] [432] [511]

The next Owner of our Bundle was Bob Black Plume, also known as Apikayi, or "Skunk." He was given the name by his grandmother, who used the Power of that animal in her doctoring. He was a regular leader of our sacred ceremonies until recently, when he decided to give all his devotion to the Full Gospel Church. [551] [553] [755] [797]

Bobtail Chief was the leader of the ceremony during which our Pipe was transferred from Laurie Plume, or Otter, to our Old Man. The Old Man kept it for ten years, then gave it as a present to his son-in-law, Bob First Charger. The Old Man was then mourning the death of his wife. [431] [765]

SikskiAki was first in the presence of the Pipe when our Old Man had it. She was just a little girl when Grandma AnadaAki and her husband, Ben Strangling Wolf, took her along to the Old Man's spring Thunder ceremony. Although SikskiAki was then quite young, her memories add to the spirit the Bundle now has for us. [852]

THE DIFFERENT-PEOPLE PIPE

One of our remaining Medicine Pipe Bundles has been with our People since the year 1833. Some ethnologists have called this Bundle the Gros Ventre Pipe and even the Long-Time Pipe. Among our People it is known as *NamaTappi-Achkuineman*, or the "Different-People Pipe." It was brought here from the Mandan tribe. 778 [177]

Our head chief at the end of the Buffalo

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

prayed that the weather would be mild, which it was, on the day of the ceremony. There was snow on the ground from a few days before, but the air was barely cool enough for freezing. 796

The ceremony was to have been held seven nights before, but a sudden death among the Old Man's relatives meant that he could not attend any public gathering for four days. He told us that everyone's good Spirits would be back if we set the ceremony for seven days later, which we did. [765]

I wore my blanket coat for the ride over to our relative's house, where the ceremony was held. We had driven over there earlier that morning to drop off mattresses for seating, dishes for cooking, the foodstuffs, and our blankets and other things needed for the ceremony. We fastened the offering to the house wall outside the place where the Old Man was to sit and pray later that night.

It was still daylight when we arrived at the house where people were going to gather. No one had arrived yet. The offering swayed in the breeze that often blows from the mountains. The prairie between the house and the mountains, perhaps half a day's ride away, was a patch-work of farms and ranches. The light covering of snow reflected differently, depending on whether the fenced sections of land were for pasture or crops, and whether they were plowed at the end of the last summer or left with their stubble standing.

The house was an older one, made of milled lumber. A few relatives were inside, to do the cooking and to lend their help, should it be needed. The room was crowded with many bags and boxes of food. Another room was crammed with furniture, leaving the room where the ceremony was to be held cleared of all furniture—only mattresses covering the floor along the walls. Two of the canvas linings from our tipi hung on the wall to lend the room some atmosphere. None of the relatives took a direct part in the ceremony, so none had gone inside this room for fear of disturbing its sanctity. [342] [353] [778] [784]

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

saw in my dream. Here is a part of him to prove that we are sincere and that he will always remember you." That old woman took out her knife and cut off the end of my little finger from my left hand, you can see where it is missing, and she left the end of my finger out there on the prairie as an offering. That is when I was first told that I would have old age. 791 852 304 782 787

After the Old Man's story, we sat quietly for a while. Then Atsitsina remarked that he had not yet been purified for the recent death in his family. He could not attend a holy ceremony until he symbolically cast the Spirit of death away from himself. He asked me to step outside with him and to bring along a few leaves of sage from the bunches by the altar. He had already taught me what to do to purify someone in our Old Way. I rolled the sage leaves into a small ball between my palms and prayed, asking for help that Atsitsina may forget what has happened and go on with the Good Spirits again. Four times I prayed and asked the various Powers to give him strength and encouragement, and then I handed him the ball of sage. He prayed and brushed his body four times with it, then told the sage to take the evil from his body as he cast it away toward the east, the direction of the new day. 765 783 [824] [782]

A truck arrived bringing SikskiAki's parents and our two boys. Wolf Child quietly walked into the room and sat by me. The Old Man squinted to see who it was, then greeted Wolf Child: "Ahhh, Makwi Poka, shake hands!" The Old Man was very fond of Wolf Child. The boy prayed enthusiastically and made hand signs while trying to sing along with our holy songs. 796 [493] [576]

NinnaOnesta and his wife arrived with a box full of bowls, utensils, pipe and blankets, and two cushions—in case our seating proved uncomfortable. The Old Man gave NinnaOnesta a seat on the far left, where he usually sits to call out his raiding exploits.

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

stating that if brought home safely he will sacrifice a finger. This sacrifice can be made at any time; either when on the warpath or when at home in camp or at the sun dance. In such cases, the finger is offered to the sun in the precise manner as the pieces of skin described above.

There are, however, occasions upon which fingers are cut off that are not offerings to the sun. Thus, people who are in mourning sometimes sacrifice a finger. In those cases it is usual to call upon some old woman who is skilled in the amputation. She cuts off the finger, usually reciting a kind of ritual, but it is not offered to the sun. It is simply thrown away. Then again babies' fingers are sometimes cut off to give the child good luck. Thus, if a woman lost many children she would call upon an old woman to make the sacrifice for her newly born. In this case, the tip end of a finger is cut off and wrapped up in a piece of meat which the mother is required to swallow. This is supposed to insure the child's living to maturity. It had no connection with the sun.

I have told you how men are called upon to cut off pieces of skin and how certain old women were selected to amputate fingers. You should also know that in olden times there were some women and men who might be called upon to cut open dead persons for various reasons. Sometimes they did this on their own account in order to get information as to the cause of death.

These accounts show for one thing that the cutting ceremony in the sun dance is but one of a type of blood and flesh offerings made to the sun, in fulfillment of a vow. The sacrifice of a finger is more frequent and less specialized, though frequently done at the sun dance. Then comes the very frequent offering of bits of skin, a sacrifice common in war raids at all times. The offering of bits of skin in the precise manner described here is found elsewhere in the Plains. The writer has observed men so scarred among several divisions of the Dakota. The method of removing the skin was here the same as followed by the Blackfoot. The thrusting in of the awl has a curious similarity to the cutting and skewering in the sun dance; one may even be pardoned for wondering if it did not so arise.

Sun Dance Songs.

Two songs have a special place in the ceremony. They are sung by the men as they ride into camp with the willows for the hundred-willow sweathouse. They are sung again when the procession of pole raisers moves up to raise the sun pole. Formerly, they were sung by any considerable body of the tribe approaching the camp of strange Indians. Likewise, when they approached a post to open trade.[1]

Red-plume, a Piegan, has a smudge stick on which are notches said

[1] For musical notation see McClintock, Walter. *The Old North Trail, or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfoot Indians* (London, 1910), 311.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

were counting the riders, and suddenly Bear Head nudged me and said: "*Apikuni,* it is not to be all happiness; they were forty-one when they left us, and now they number but forty. Hear you not the sad crying?"

And then we saw that Otter Woman was one of the stricken; her mother was bringing her in, supporting her wavering steps, and she was crying: "Black Elk! Black Elk! Black Elk! *Haiya, haiya!* My sweetheart Black Elk! He is dead, he is dead. *Haiya! Haiya!*

The two went into their lodge. We saw Black Elk's mother, sister, an aunt, and cousin going slowly back to their lodge, all of them mourning for their loved one. A little later, Bear Head invited one of the party to come in and smoke with us, and he told us how the youth had been killed: The party had night-raided a camp of Crows, well up the Bighorn River, and taken off with more than a hundred horses. But before reaching the Yellowstone they had been obliged to stop and fight a party of about fifty Crows too closely pursuing them. They had driven them back, killing five, but Black Elk had been too brave, too crazily brave; he had kept on after all of his companions had given up the pursuit, and so had been shot down. But, resuming the chase, they had prevented the Crows' counting coup upon him; they had given the youth decent burial on a bank of the Yellowstone and brought back his horse and various belongings to turn over to his father.

So passed young Black Elk. His sorrowing sweetheart, his mother, and female relatives gashed the calves of their legs, unbraided their hair, fasted, and daily went out a little way from camp and mourned pitifully and long, until they became hoarse and could no more than croak his name.

Gradually the mourning became less intense; finally, ceased. And again youths of the great camp, dressed all in their best and painted and armed came and stood silently, stiffly before Otter Woman's lodge, and for hours at a time—that the usual way of Blackfoot courting of a girl; and how foolish, how simperingly silly were their faces when passing children and even their elders asked them what they were doing there. Hoped each of them to get a smile, a nod of assent from the worshiped one, but she went to and fro about her work as

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

727 535 little more than a march in quick time, to the music of a song peculiar to the dance. Where the number of dancers is considerable several rings are formed in different parts of the tent and the dance is frequently kept up with intervals of rest for twelve or fourteen days.

HAIR

302 The Blackfeet take no care of the hair, never combing it, braiding it, or gathernig it in knots as is the custom with some tribes. Neither did they part it nor paint the [765] head. It was permitted by both sexes to grow to its full [142] length, reaching usually to the shoulders, except when in mourning, when the hair was cut off close to the head. In color it was usually a jet black, though sometimes in the young it had a light, grayish color, afterward changing to the invariable black of mature years. It was coarse and always dirty.

PHYSIQUE

142 147 The men were rather above the usual height, generally approaching and often exceeding six feet, well proportioned, active and hardy, but not more than ordinarily [141] [524] strong. They practiced no athletic exercises and the indolent life they led when not upon the war path or engaged in the chase were not conducive to great bodily strength. 181 They possessed an intelligent countenance free from vindictiveness or bloodthirstiness, reasonably good-looking, manly and often noble. In character they were good-humored, candid and truthful, honest among themselves but less so with strangers, talkative, fond of story-telling, easily excited to laughter, less inclined to conceal the emotions than most Indians, friendly to their fellows, and [727] affectionate to their wives and children. The returning warrior is always met with kisses and embraces by his female relatives, which he does not disdain to receive, and the father of a family is often to be seen playing with his children and apparently greatly enjoying their childish [854] sports. It should be remarked, however, that with children through the nursing period they have nothing to do, leaving them wholly to the squaws.

43. "White man sewing" design on a child's moccasin.

of the Blackfeet each had a ground of a different color for its ornament; thus, if one was white, the other was yellow. He also attributed this custom to the Gros Ventre, but said it was not known to the tribes further down the Missouri. This seems to have been a custom that became obsolete among the Blackfeet by the second half of the century. None of our older informants had heard of it, although they stated that medicine men or women were accustomed to paint their moccasins red with earth paint, and mourners sometimes painted their moccasins black.

531 294 178 [175] [171] [156] [165]

Decoration of Women's Dresses

It is probable that the Blackfeet woman's dress style was also changed during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that time the characteristic woman's dress may have been simply a long slip fastened

291 178 175

44. Moccasins beaded in floral pattern.

531 294

[P.42-A]

48: Bushnell A-4 (no date) 1927 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

000 were discovered more than half a century ago, is reproduced in Plate 7.

Unfortunately, the photograph which is shown in Plate 8 has not been identified. It belongs to the collection in the National Museum, but when and where made is not known. As it reveals the custom of the Northern Cheyenne, the burial scaffold may be regarded as having been erected by some members of that tribe. The supports of the scaffold at the corner nearest the position of the camera had fallen, thus allowing the scaffold with its burden to sag and to reveal more clearly the mass which rested upon the platform. One body had evidently been wrapped and placed within a travois basket, closely resembling and suggesting the example in the collection of the National Museum. One or more bodies, in addition to that in the travois basket, may have been on the platform. The six buffalo skulls had undoubtedly been placed upon the ground, near the scaffold, for some well-defined purpose or reason.

Blackfoot Confederacy

619 The allied tribes who formed this confederacy were the Siksika,
648 or Blackfeet proper; the Kainah, or Bloods; and the Piegan. Asso-
131 ciated with these were the Atsina, one of the divisions of the Arapaho. The habitat of these comparatively numerous tribes was the rugged, mountainous region about the headwaters of the Missouri, with the adjacent plains—a region where game was plentiful, where the deep valleys offered protection against the rigors of the long winters, and where their enemies would seldom penetrate. During the earlier days of their contact with Europeans some bands of the confederated tribes dominated the region as far north as the Saskatchewan.

764 Maximilian, who came in contact with these tribes during the summer of 1833, wrote regarding the customs of the people at the time of the death of one of their number: "When a Blackfoot dies, they do not bury him in the ground if they can avoid it, but sew him up in a buffalo robe, dressed in his best clothes, his face painted red, but without his weapons, and lay him in some retired place, in ravines, rocks, forests, or on a high, steep bank, and often cover the body with wood or stones, that the wolves may not get at it.
[431] Frequently, when they cannot find a solitary spot, the corpse remains above ground in a kind of wooden shed, and they were often obliged to bury it, or to give it to the Whites as a desirable present,
765 which cannot be refused. The relations cut off their long hair,
[304] smear it, as well as their faces and clothes, with whitish-grey clay,
775 and, during the time of mourning, wear their worst clothing. Often, too, they cut off a joint of a finger. They believe the dead go into

48: Bushnell A-4 (no date) 1927 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

another country, where they will have lack of nothing; and that they have often been heard when they were summoned to smoke a pipe together. At the funeral of rich Indians, several horses are often killed upon the spot; and we were told of instances when twelve or fifteen horses were killed in this manner at the funeral of a celebrated chief . . . The relations assemble at the residence of the deceased, and even the men lament and wail. The corpse is generally buried on the first day, and in case of death during the night, it is removed on the following morning." (Maximilian, pp. 258–259.) He likewise referred briefly to the treatment of the sick: "The medicine men or physicians of the Blackfeet are very unskilful. We always saw them take water in their mouths, which they spit out over the wounded . . . Drums and rattles (schischikue) were daily used in their attendance on the sick, in the closed tent . . . These Indians have some efficacious remedies derived from the vegetable kingdom, one of which is a whitish root from the Rocky Mountains, which is called, by the Canadians, rhubarb, which is said to resemble our rhubarb in its effect and taste, and likewise to act as an emetic. Another root is esteemed to be a powerful remedy against the bite of serpents. In all cases they have recourse to the drum and the rattle, and have great confidence in the intolerable noise caused by those instruments. The Blackfeet make their rattles of leather, wood, or bladder." (Op. cit., p. 258.)

The burial and mourning customs of the Blackfeet were interestingly described by another observer a few years later: "The Blackfeet do not place their dead on scaffolds but either in a hole well covered to keep off the wolves, or they leave them in the lodge with everything just as it is when they die. In that case the wolves of course eat their bodies very soon; and I am told that in this way the body of nearly every Blackfoot is disposed of. When one of them is in mourning he puts white earth on his head and goes out before his lodge wailing most piteously; as soon as the neighbors see that they all rush to his lodge and take it and everything it contains, leaving him nothing but his horse. The death of a relation is therefore a very serious affair, since a man loses all his property as well as his friend." (Culbertson, p. 126.)

The two preceding accounts contain rather conflicting statements, but they may refer to different groups of the Blackfoot confederacy. Possibly the tribal customs have undergone a change within a comparatively short time. This would be suggested by the following quotation: "Their manner of burial has always been (until recently) to inclose the dead body in robes or blankets, the best owned by the departed, closely sewed up, and then, if a male or chief, fasten in the branches of a tree so high as to be beyond the reach of wolves, and then left to slowly waste in the dry winds. If the body was

48: Bushnell A-4 (no date) 1927 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

114 that of a squaw or child, it was thrown into the underbrush or
764 jungle, where it soon became the prey of the wild animals. The weapons, pipes, &c., of men were inclosed, and the small toys of
[765] children with them. The ceremonies were equally barbarous, the relatives cutting off, according to the depth of their grief, one or more
[304] joints of the fingers, divesting themselves of clothing even in the coldest weather, and filling the air with their lamentations. All the sewing up and burial process was conducted by the squaws, as the men would not touch nor remain in proximity to a dead body." (Yarrow, p. 161.) The preceding notes were prepared by John Young at the Blackfoot Agency, and tell of conditions as they existed some 50 years ago, but it is doubtful if he was acquainted with local customs of the more distant villages, where the older methods of disposing of the dead may still have been practiced.

764 Another and what is intended to be a general account of the burial customs of these tribes written only a few years later is very interesting as it contains references to certain customs not mentioned by other writers. It begins: "Their funeral and burial ceremonies in-
[765] dicate their belief in the immortality of the soul. These forms are of a similar type among all the tribes composing the nation. They place their dead, dressed in gaudiest apparel, within a tent, in a sitting posture, or occasionally fold them in skins and lay them on high scaf-
[775] folds out of the reach of wild beasts, under which the relatives weep and wail. The arms and horses are buried with them, to be used in the long journey to the spirit land, showing the possession of the idea of the dual nature of matter and spirit." (Robinson, pp. 193–
768 194.) And the same writer continues and relates a curious custom following the death of a child: "Immediately upon its decease, the whole village rush into the lodge and take possession of whatever portable property they can seize upon, until the grief-stricken par-
ents are stripped of all their worldly possessions, not even excepting their clothing. The only method of evading the custom is to secrete the most valuable property beforehand, generally a matter difficult
765 of accomplishment." (Op. cit., p. 194.) Evidently the death of a child caused much sorrow among the people, and as told by one who was well acquainted with the ways of life of Blackfeet: "Late one afternoon as I was pursuing my way through the outskirts of the camp, I heard a low sad wail, and on looking up, saw a poor woman meanly clad, the beautiful garments of yesterday having been taken
[304] from her. Her legs from the knees to the feet had been gashed with a knife and the blood was clotted upon them. Her hair had been cut off, and one of the fingers on the left hand had been severed at the first joint. A piece of wood lay in the palm of the injured hand, the clotted blood was mingled with ashes, which had been sprinkled over

48: Bushnell A-4 (no date) 1927 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

it. I spoke to her and she pointed to a tree, where hidden within the branches lay a little bundle, the darling of her bosom, recently dead. She turned from me and sang her coronach, mentioning the name of her babe and calling upon it to come back to her. Deeply and tender these Indian mothers love their children, and no suffering is too great for them to bear on their behalf." (Maclean, p. 66.)

In the same account is a reference to the placing of the dead "in the crotches of trees, or raised platforms, and in lodges," the latter probably resembling the similar form of burial as mentioned among the Crow and Oglala. The writer whose work has just been quoted continues and gives a brief description of the treatment of the sick, and likewise of conditions that exist after death. He says: "When anyone is sick a part of the garments of the sick person is placed upon the top of the lodge, that being shaken by the wind the prairie spirits may be induced to stop upon their journey, and the medicine man earnestly performs his incantations and giving of medicines, assisted by the friends of the sick person, and the gods, listening to the prayers, will aid in the overthrow of the evil genius which dwells in the body. During a severe time of sickness in one of the camps, as I sat beside the medicine man in one of the lodges, a large number of children were brought in, and the medicine man, taking the dress from the top of the lodge, rubbed the children's persons with it, as a protection against the attack of the disease. When anyone dies, he is said to have gone to the Sand Hills.

"The people are afraid of the spirits of the dead, and at once they remove the lodge, and sometimes even tear down the house, lest the spirit of the deceased return and inflict injury upon the living. They believe that the spirits of the dead hold communion with each other, and require food and clothing like the living, only as they are spiritual, they need the spiritual part, and not the material, for their sustenance. (Op. cit., p. 67.)

Arapaho

The ancient habitat of the Arapaho, before they reached the open prairie lands to follow the buffalo, was probably in the timbered regions northeast of the Minnesota River.

The Atsina, a division of the Arapaho more closely connected with the Blackfeet, were usually mentioned by the early narrators as the Gros Ventres of the Prairies, and as such they were alluded to by Maximilian. The latter wrote during August, 1833: "The Gros Ventres des Prairies . . . In the main, their customs agree with those of the Blackfeet, and they dispose of their dead in the same manner." (Maximilian, p. 284.)

[pp. 14-86 not processed]

ksînæskuyîu. A´inoßχkonoyiu einí. Itáumatapaunkimàu. Itß´χpokynpaunaututsiu, einí ómâχtapakaièpi. Pisamiks itáiinapitakìau. Kokúsi itáipuyìau nínoiks: Mínatsipiomaχkàt. Aiínapitakiòp. A´mom otsítakaièpi einíua, itauáuaksisau. Itánkakiu, áikaitsauapotoyìu otápimi ótàsiks. Nató'sii mátæsæmiuàie. Aikskísaie, saiipúnikskisàie, itáiikokakìu. O´nokâmitâsins áikaisaiepiskoàu. Mátaisæmòa itáisapiskoχtòaii sámiks kátauaiâχtsimiks. A´istamisokaniòp: A´iaua itsínitau. A´isautomoau. O´ksôkoaiks itápauasainisòiau. O´ksôkoaiks âχkanáikimmatoχkoûmiaiks. Ki omí aχkúiinnimàni itsitáisapiχ´takiau píksistsimòni. Ki itæχtísainisatsiiau. Omí nínai ápauauaχksi itâ´χkotsiauaie aχkúiinnimàn. Itauánistsìauaie: Annóχk ámoi kitótsisisin. Kímmokit, nitsíkímmatoχkni. Nâχksikímmokit, naχkítskìχ't. Minakáunoχs kokuísts, naχkítsàpi motokâ´ni. Much-driftwood, [and] the Big Sandhills [local names] and [then] turn back. They turned back and moved up to Rotten-willow-wood [a local name]. They were moving this way to Buffalo-lip [and] Many-snakes [also local names]. They finally found the buffalo. Then they began to chase the buffalo. Then they moved about that way, where there were many buffalo. Those that hunted far gave the alarm [suspecting the enemy being near]. In the night the chiefs would talk. [They would say:] Do not go far. We have had alarm. Over there, where there are many buffalo, they ran away [scared by some people, enemies of this tribe]. They [the people of the camp] were careful, they would not turn loose their male horses. They would look at the Sun. If he [the Sun] had stripes on each side [the Sun-dogs], if he had often stripes on the sides, then they were very careful. All the horses were not driven far [from the camp]. After a short time the hunters, that did not listen [to the chiefs, and went far from the camp], were charged on [by the enemies]. Then suddenly there would be said: A certain one was killed. He was scalped. His relations began to go about crying. All his relations would suffer. And they would put weeds cut-up with tobacco in a pipe. And they went crying to him [the medicine-man]. To that man, who was walking about,

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

they gave the pipe. They would say to him: Now here is your smoke. Pity me, I have suffered. Pity me, that I may have revenge. Let the nights not be many, that I see [that means: before I see] a scalp.

That man [the medicine-man] would say: We are not women, that we only cry. Then he [the same man] would get on his horse, then he would run around. The people [that followed him] were getting many. They ran near the lodges. The women then yelled. The young men that felt brave yelled. They sang [their war-songs] to themselves. That man [the medicine-man] then would say: We shall also make cry our enemies. Then they began to catch their horses. As they knew their long-winded [literally: hard-winded] horses, [and] hard-runners, they would take those along with them. They started. The warriors went on horseback. They went around, where they were hidden from view. Two strong brave men went ahead to look about. They were the scouts. They went that way, where the coulees were about [they followed the coulees]. They saw the camp [of the enemies]. Then they ran back. When they saw the people [their own party] over there, then they yelled: u'u' +. The warriors then crowded one another about. They were told: The cranes [that means: the scouts] are coming. They really saw [the enemies]. They [the

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Montana

A´ikakaißχtoàii nánuiks. Autakúsi itáiksuo. Itáiksistauaχkautseiau. Initáiks auaχkápiaiau. Ponokâ´mitaiks itáikitatsìmaiau. Akótsàpsiks á´nniksaie, áukìnaiau okóauaists. Atsóaskuists itástsakokìuatßχp. A´nnimaie itáipstsìau, itsínit$\alpha\chi$piau. O´tàsoàuuiks itáutsinitaii, ki ámo otßχkauáinanoauaists itâ´χkanaipstoχtoχpi. O´tàsoauuiks ká´taiinitaiks â´χkanaiàminitàii. Oksístoauuiks ámoks otsanáukitαoàuuiks áikàkiaiks. Ki otoχkémanoauuiks matakákekitsâχsiau. O´mkemoàuuiks matakákekitsâχsiau. Oχká´toauuists áiistsinìmiau. Otokâ´noauuists ákaχkpaiau. Omá nèpúmiu ká´nnaie itsítokomàukoχkuyim. U´nni omám initáuαm saχkínauαm kaiistoxsìnai. A´psaists iχ´tsikáistoxχsìnni. Manistαkímatoχkoyìpi, omá ninau otoksínaists mátaiistsinim. Xítsamanistoχkitau. O´mami initáuαm otoχpóksìmikα nitúyi iχ´kaαánistaikímatoχkoyìmi.

They put their robes on the lodges, on high where the lodge-poles were tied together. They [the Peigans] continued to fight during the day. They [the women] only heard the sound of the guns. The guns were only heard. In the evening they would stop. Then they quit fighting. The dead were taken home. They [the] dead were laid across on horses. They put the rich ones inside of their own lodges. In the forests their lodges were put up. There they were put inside, when they were killed. Their horses [the horses of the dead] were killed [near them, that they might accompany their masters], and all the things that belonged to them were put in there [in the lodges]. All their horses, that were not killed, had their tails and manes cut. Their mothers had their little fingers chopped off. And their wives had also their little fingers cut. Their sisters had also their little fingers cut. They [the women] would cut their legs [just skin-deep]. They would cút off their hair. The widow suffered most [of all]. The father of the dead married man stuck himself. He stuck himself with arrows. That he might suffer more, that man would cut also his upper-legs. He had his hair all cut off. The companions of the dead one all suffered in the same way.

A´itapistutsiu Ky$\acute{a}$iesis$\alpha\chi$tàii. Ki omíksi manikâ´piiau itaniau: Aχkúnisàuop. T$\acute{a}$maniau: A´. Itomátapitsikìniau. T$\acute{a}$manistsìau ótaA

They [the Peigans] moved to Maria's river [Bear creek]. And there would be some young men saying: Let us go on a raid.

A [Erratum: this should read [the dead]--Analyst]

tapàukasiu. Mátakatokakìua. Omí matápi itsinóyiu annyáukinai otánistutòkaie. Iχ´tsáuatokakìuaie. Otsinóaχsi, sotámaskχainoyiuaie. Omátsipioχkòkatsi. Námoχkitoχkànsokìnau. Itsítaksiìku, otánistutòiiχ´piai, otáumatsipiokàie.

Then he will see clearly that one, that has done something to him. There will be nothing the matter with his eyes, [but after having seen the ghost] he will not see any more. And another person, who is always sick, when he is still sitting in the lodge [during the night], will see him [the ghost] through the lodge outside. Then [afterwards] he will be out of his mind. He will be trying to catch something [being out of his mind]. He will not have his right mind any more. He has seen the person, that has done something to him. That is why he is out of his mind. When he has seen him [once], then he sees him all the time. He [the ghost] does not stay away from him. Everybody doctored him [but it has been of no use]. A still harder thing, he [the ghost] does to him, is, that he takes him away [i. e. that he makes him die]. 539 775 753

Á´nnyaie nitakáukistutakìau. Annóχk táupokasokòpimanàniau, táisksauatainàpimanàniau. Apatóχtak áutoyiuaiks otokß´noauàists. Matáutsimiàu, itáisapoχtòmiauaie skinétsimàn. Istáikiks okósoauaiks otáisakakimmauàiks inísaiks, otsítstsiχ´psiks, aitoksíkinakisàiks. Matsitß´χkannutsimiàuaists kanáuχkists. Sápanistsìminai itomópistsiàuaists náipistsi. Otáiikinaχkanoàuaists. Ki annóχk ánetòyi imitáiks.

That are the things, [the ghosts] have done. Now we are mixed up with them [i. e. they are everywhere among us], [so] we do not mind them any more. In the olden times [the people] used to take their [the ghosts'] hair. They took it again, they put it in a sack. When some people's children, that they loved very much, died, then, where they were buried, just their bones were left. They [the people] took all the bones. It [the child's bones] was complete. They tied them [the bones] up in a piece 539 775 539 765

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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of cloth. They kept them as a relic. And now the dogs have separated [after having had their meal].

[Cf. GRINNELL blt 273 sqq.]

The Wind-maker.

539 Annámaie nínau Punákiksi itáukunàiiu. Ksiskaniáutunìix̣k mátsopùa. Mistákists itsitápò. Omí nitúmmoi itstsíi paχtókiks. Itsitúiikopìu. Annimaie ix̣tápaukakyòsiu. Mistákists itapásapìu. Itámsoksinoyìu, omík matápiinai, itapámiauauaχkàiinai. Otáaistoχkòkaie. Itsinóyiuaie. Ostúmiai sotámotuimoyìsiu. Otoksíks kseuóχtsi itámsaiitsimoyisìnai. Saiátapikoχsistsinìnai. Oχtókistsaii ómaχkainoyìi. A´itotsipoyìnai. Ki itauátsimoiix̣kàmiuaie. Osótamsaiikix̣tòkaie. Itsístapotakàuyinai. O´tomatapoχsaie, oχtókistsaii itauátapiksìminai. Sotámoχpistapûksopu. Manistápiikauatapiksix̣piaie oχtókists, nitapáiiksopù. A´nnamaie nitúkskam nánoyiu amóisk A´isopumstàyisk. A´nistau O´maχksistsèksinàikoan.

Long ago there was a chief, [who] camped on Cut-bank river. In the morning the wind did not blow. He went to the mountains. On a butte there were pine-trees. There he sat in the shade. From there he looked about over the country. He was looking to the mountains. He suddenly saw, there was a person, [who] walked up towards him. He [that person] came near him. He saw him [that person]. There was hair all over his body. Only from his knees down he did not have any hair. He had split hoofs. His ears were big and long. He [that person] stood by him. And he [the chief] began to pray to him. Then he [that person] did not do him any harm. Then [that person] turned away from him. As he started to go away, he shook his ears. Then immediately the wind blew hard. And as he shook his ears harder, the wind blew harder. That [chief] was the only one, [who] saw the Wind-maker. He [that chief] was called Big-snake.

[Cf. GRINNELL blt 250, MC CLINTOCK ont 60 sqq.]

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[765] and enjoyable life. Rather his power aided him in attaining the abilities and means to enjoy this life (in much the same fashion as a "good education" does today). Thus the young Blood's views of Priest are negative.

> (Priest) I could never be a priest. Most priests . . . they put off living. I like luxury. I wouldn't want to do without. I couldn't be a priest.

> (Priest) Too religious for me. You got to be a goody-goody to be a priest. I like foolin' around and stuff like that.

And, from a highly acculturated and scholarly young man,

> (Priest) Yes, we need a lot of them on the Reserve. (Question--Would you?) Umm, nope. I don't think I could give up the material things.

Many other examples could be cited. These quotations would seem to indicate that the young Blood see Doctor, Priest-Clergy, and Politician in much the same manner, and they might be thought of as a conceptual unit. All three hover around the fifty per cent mark in expressed opinion, which would indicate that the young Blood are undecided about them. All three appear not to be evaluated in the expectable manner, in terms of the pattern derived from the acceptable I.A.'s or the pattern from the rejected I.A.'s. Indeed, in the discussion of Priest'Clergy, giving up the good life is mentioned, which contrasts markedly with the specific discussions of other rejected I.A.'s.

The indecision and deviant evaluation is thought to

inform him that his nephew had been murdered by the Blood Indians—that he should immediately attack them, and, therefore, advised us to return as speedily as possible. 682

On reaching the fort we learned that the nephew of the Bear Chief, a very quiet, well-disposed Indian, had ridden out in the morning to look for a horse which had been stolen from him, and had been murdered not far off, on the hills, by the Blood Indians, who had attacked him with their guns, knives, and clubs. Ninoch-Kiaiu was furious, and he now came to Mr. Mitchell to consult with him what was to be done. A sensible old Indian advised that this matter should not be treated as a concern of the whole tribe, but as a private affair, and, consequently, they should wait patiently for an opportunity when they might take vengeance on some member of the murderer's family. The chief, who felt that his honour was deeply wounded, was silent, and lost in thought. As a sign of mourning, he had put on his worst clothes, but not cut off his hair, saying that "his head was too great and strong to do this." [*A portrait of Ninoch-Kiaiu in mourning is on page 139.*] A He had loaded with ball the double-barrelled gun which he had lately received, and suddenly hastened away without saying a word. He afterwards sent word to Mr. Mitchell, that he must go to revenge his kinsman, whose dead body he would not see; but, that it might fall into good hands, he would make a present of it to Mr. Mitchell, whom he requested to bury it. As the murder of the Indian was a consequence of the offence which Ninoch-Kiaiu had offered to the Blood Indians, on the occasion of Martin's death, the present could not well be refused. B

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August 17, 1833

Early in the morning, the howling and lamenting of the Indians in the camp was heard; and, soon afterwards, the corpse of the murdered man was brought into the fort. It was wrapped up very tightly in buffalo skins, and tied to a travois drawn by one horse. An old man, with a multitude of women and children, his relations, followed the body with loud lamentations. An aged woman in the train had just cut off one joint of her little finger as a sign of mourning, and held the bleeding stump wrapped in a handful of wormwood leaves. When our people had taken the body from the travois between the two gates of the fort, and carried it into the Indian apartment, a young man, the brother of the Bear Chief,

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[p. 105-B]

A, [See Category 765, p. 139--Analyst]

B, [i.e., the accidental death of a white man; see Category 177, p. 103-A--Analyst]

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made a speech to the weeping relatives, saying—"Why do you lament and cry?—see, I do not cry: he is gone into the other country, and we cannot awaken him; but, at least, two Blood Indians must accompany him and wait upon him there." An infant, and a boy, the brother of the deceased, died on the same night; and the Indians said that the murdered brother had called the others away. [*In his field journal Maximilian identifies the dead infant as a child of David Mitchell, the issue of a liaison with an Indian woman. The infant was buried in the same grave with the murdered Blackfoot and his dead brother.*]

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Thus we had three dead bodies in the fort. As that of the Indian had long been exposed to the air and the sun, it was necessary to make haste to get it out of the way; and Berger, the interpreter, had the disagreeable office of painting, putting on its best clothes, and ornamenting it in the Indian fashion. The two Indians were laid in the same grave, wrapped in a red blanket and buffalo skin, over which was laid a piece of coloured stuff, given by Mr. Mitchell. The bottom and sides of the grave were lined with boards; the body, too, was covered with wood; his bridle, whip, and some other trifles were thrown in, and the grave filled up.

August 18, 1833

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Ninoch-Kiaiu now continually talked of going to a little camp of the Blood Indians, on the other side of the river, to take vengeance. His brother, who likewise made a great noise, walked about the fort with a loaded pistol, and, at last, begged Mr. Mitchell to have him conveyed over the river, because it was thought that two Blood Indians had been seen, whom he wanted to shoot; to which Mr. Mitchell very calmly replied, that "if he intended to kill any body, he would not assist him." With an expression of violent passion, the Indian, on this, mounted his horse and galloped away, "in order," as the chief said, "to quiet his heart for the present, by the death of a Blood, as they might, at some future time, shoot the real murderer." The chief's aged uncle, Natoie-Poochsen (the word of life), was one of the principal mourners. He had cut off his hair, and besmeared it, as well as his feet and legs, with whitish clay. Mr. Bodmer made a good portrait of him in this dress. [*For this likeness, see page 138.*] He went about howling and crying, while the Bear Chief thought only of procuring brandy. He had in his hand a little mustard-glass filled

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A. [See Category 765, p. 138 - Plate 21]

[p.106-A]

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Above: Natoie-Poochsen (the word of life), a Piegan elder and uncle of Ninoch-Kiaiu, in mourning for his grand-nephew, who was killed by a Blood Indian on August 16. The mourning customs of the Blackfeet were similar to those of the other Plains Indians. The men cut their hair, donned their poorest clothes, and painted their faces white. Women chopped off a finger joint. *Opposite:* Ninoch-Kiaiu (the chief of the bears), a bellicose Piegan chief whom David Mitchell honored with the gift of an expensive uniform at the opening of trade on August 10. Formerly known as Spotted Elk, he had changed his name after leading a successful war party against the Flatheads three months earlier. The Bear Chief and 500 Piegan warriors had fallen upon a band of 45 Flatheads and two French-Canadians in the Rocky Mountains. All 47 were killed and their scalps taken, the Blackfeet losing six dead and a number wounded. Ninoch-Kiaiu's feud with the Bloods led to the murder of his nephew. When he appeared at the fort on August 16 vowing vengeance, he was dressed in mourning, although he had not cut his hair, explaining to Maximilian that the head of Ninoch-Kiaiu "was too great and strong to do this."

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A, [See Category 765, p. 139--Analyst]

[p. 138]

56: Maximilian N, T-S (1833) 1976 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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